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*The Chapel of Hatshepsut
as an Inspiration for the Theban Tombs Decoration
The Case of TT 39 (Puyemre)*

The Chapel of Hatshepsut, situated in the Royal Cult Complex on the third terrace of the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari (E. Naville's 'Southern Hall of Offerings'¹), when its architecture and decoration is concerned, presents undoubtedly an effect of inspiration by the sanctuaries of Old and Middle Kingdom mortuary temples,² the canon of which was established during the reign of Sahure. At the same time the reliefs in the Chapel itself constituted an inspiration for the decoration of tombs built simultaneously in the Theban Necropolis. The best example of such a reference is the tomb built for Puyemre (TT 39), the second priest of Amon under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. The architecture of this tomb with its columned portico and transverse hall leading to three chapels is unique compared to typical T-shaped tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty.³

The prime example of the reference to the Hatshepsut Chapel decoration is an A/B offering list placed in TT 39 on the southern wall of its northern chapel, which is a counterpart of two symmetrical versions of the list, located on its western part of the southern and northern walls of the Chapel (**Fig. 2a-b**).⁴ All three examples written in three registers with 50 columns each, incorporated two texts: the CT spell 607, an integral part of the first register⁵ and the composition originating from the Pyramid Texts, added to the end of the third register (**Fig. 1**).⁶ It is interesting to note that, according to N. de G. Davies,

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¹ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari. Part IV. The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*, *EEF* 19, London 1901 [= Deir el-Bahari IV], pp. 6–11, Pls CVII–CXVIII.

² G. JÉQUIER, *Les monuments funéraires de Pepi II*, vol. II, *Fouilles Saqqara 1936–40*, Le Caire 1938 [= Pepi II], p. 55; W. BARTA, *Der königliche Totenopfertempel und seine Entstehung*, *MDAIK* 22, 1967, p. 49; D. ARNOLD, *Djeser Djeseru. The Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, [in:] C.H. Roehrig *et al.* (Eds.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York-New Haven-London 2005, p. 138.

³ B. ENGELMANN VON CARNAP, *Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie. Analyse von Position, Grundrissung und Bildprogramm der Gräber*, *ADAIK* 15, Berlin 1999 [= Struktur], p. 35. TT 39 is the oldest in the group of Ve-type tombs of F. Kampp's classification, F. KAMPP, *Die Thebanische Nekropole: zum Wandel des Grabgedankes von der XVIII. bis zum XX. Dynastie I*, Mainz a/Rhein 1996, pp. 26, 230–233; N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes I*, New York 1922 [= Puyemrê I], pp. 3–10, Pl. IV. The orientation of the tomb is midway between north and east to preserve a position more nearly parallel with the processional roads of Deir el-Bahari (*ibid.*, p. 3). Our description however conforms to the theory that a tomb penetrated westward inside the hillside, therefore the back walls of TT 39 are described as western and the others to correspond.

⁴ N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes II*, New York 1923 [= Puyemrê II], pp. 10–11, Pls XLIX–L; W. BARTA, *Die altägyptische Opferliste: von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, *MÄS* 3, Berlin 1963 [= Opferliste], p. 104.

⁵ The text, written in 28 columns, displaced from the list items B/11-B/29 and A/13-A/25. On the text, see: NAVILLE, *Deir el-Bahari IV*, p. 9; *Id.*, *La plante de Horbéit*, *ASAE* 10, 1910, pp. 191–192; H. KEES, *Ein alter Götterhymnus als Begleittext zur Opfertafel*, *ZÄS* 57, 1922, pp. 92–120; H. ALTENMÜLLER, *Ein Opfertext der 5. Dynastie*, *MDAIK* 22, 1967, pp. 9–18; *Id.*, *Zwei neue Exemplare des Opfertextes der 5. Dynastie*, *MDAIK* 23, 1968, pp. 1–8; W. BARTA, *Bemerkungen zu einem alten Götterhymnus*, *RdE* 25, 1973, pp. 84–91.

⁶ The text, written in 35 columns, completes the third register in a way that it consists – like two registers above – of 50 columns. The text, originating from PT spells 204–205, 207, 209–212, has been incorporated into

the PT text in TT 39 is identical with that in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, while CT 607 was copied *from another and less trustworthy source*.⁷

As for the list itself, the version in TT 39 follows accurately the composition of its royal prototype consisting of 90 items, despite the fact that non-royal examples of A/B-type usually list them in a number of 95,⁸ with differences occurring only in the last two columns. In the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the penultimate column a phrase *rnpt nbt, 1* ('all green plants, 1') (A/89) was placed, and in the last one – *hnkt ht nbt bnrt, 1* ('a *hnkt*-offering and all sweet stalks, 1') (A/90 extended on the model of A/88). In TT 39 in the penultimate column two phrases, A/89 and A/90, were combined as *rnpt nbt hnkt, 2*, while the last column houses the phrase *ht nb(t) nfrt, 1*, ('every good thing, 1'). In all the remaining columns the version of TT 39 is identical with the list in the Chapel, including the numbers of the items placed below their names.⁹

In an offering procession in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, which as such was following the Old Kingdom model, some representations unattested in the earlier scenes of this kind were incorporated. In the lowest register of the offering procession shown on the southern wall men carrying vessels with incense, bags of eye-paint and strips of linen were represented (Fig. 3a). Inscriptions written beside each figure give the names of these products in the same order as they usually appear (as items A/3-A/12) in the A/B offering lists.¹⁰ In a number of Fifth and Sixth Dynasty tombs motifs similar to this were placed in separate rooms, so-called 'magazines', connected to the offering chapels,¹¹ which referred with all

the Book of the Dead as the chapter 178 (cf. NAVILLE, *Deir el-Bahari IV*, pp. 8–9; R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, New York 1972, p. 176). The sequence of PT spells J.P. Allen interprets as a 'response of the king' to the Offering Ritual, performed for him (J.P. ALLEN, *Reading a Pyramid*, [in:]: C. Berger, G. Clerc, N. Grimal (Eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, *BdE* 106/1, Le Caire 1994, p. 17 and n. 19). On connection between this text and the Offering Ritual, see also KEES, *ZÄS* 57, 1922, pp. 119–120; BARTA, *Opferliste*, p. 104; J. OSING, *Zur Disposition der Pyramidentexte des Unas*, *MDAIK* 42, 1986, p. 136; P.J. FRANDSEN, *Bwt in the body*, [in:]: H. Willems (Ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Proceedings of the international symposium held at Leiden University, 6.–7. June, 1996, *OLA* 103, Leuven 2001, pp. 146–147.

Fragments of this text, preserved on two blocks coming from the sanctuary of the Amenemhat III mortuary temple in Dahshur, show that a tradition to locate it nearby the offering table is earlier than the Hatshepsut times (see J.M. DE MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour*: mars-juin 1894, 1895, Wien 1895, pp. 116–117, Fig. 271; D. ARNOLD, R. STADELMANN, *Dahschur. Erster Grabungsbericht*, *MDAIK* 31/2, 1975, Pl. 111b).

⁷ DAVIES, *Puyemrê II*, p. 11, n. 3.

⁸ BARTA, *Opferliste*, pp. 50, 71. N. de G. Davies wrongly claims that the Puyemrê's list consists of 95 items (DAVIES, *Puyemrê II*, p. 10).

⁹ Discrepancies between the numbers, resulting from the copyists' mistakes, were not numerous (noticed in A/10, A/11, A/27, A/28, A/34).



¹⁰ Fragrant substances *stj hb, hknw, sft, nhnm, tw3wt, h3tt nt 3š, h3tt nt thnw*, eye-paint *w3dw* and *msdmt, wnhw* strips.

¹¹ Y. HARPUR, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*. Studies in orientation and scene content, London 1987 [= *Decoration*], p. 108; P. MUNRO, *Das Unas-Friedhof Nord-West*. Topographisch-historische Einteilung. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut, Mainz a/Rhein 1993, Pls 25 (b, c), 29 (a, b), p. 82; S. HASSAN, *The Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Her*, *Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938 I*, Cairo 1975, pp. 53–55, Pls XLII–XLV; Y. HARPUR, P. SCREMIN, *The Chapel of Kagemni*. Scene Details, Oxford 2006 [= *Kagemni*], pp. 476–487, Pls 35–38; N. KANAWATI, M. ABDER-RAZIQ, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara VI*. The Tomb of

probability to the store-rooms located to the north of the sanctuaries in the contemporaneous mortuary temples.¹²

On the opposite wall of the Chapel, on the eastern part there are offering bearers leading a calf, a gazelle, an antelope and an ibex represented (**Fig. 4a**).¹³ The following inscriptions accompany the figures with the wild animals: *sjʿr.t ghs* ‘bringing a gazelle’, *sjʿr.t [m3]-ḥd jn jmj-r3 nw(w)* ‘bringing an antelope by a supervisor of hunters’ and *sjʿr.t nj3w* ‘bringing an ibex’.¹⁴ A structure of these texts (‘bringing’ + a name of a species) resembles the Old Kingdom scenes showing the presentation of livestock to the tomb owner, usually located in outer parts of the tomb or mortuary temple.¹⁵

In TT 39 the only repast scenes incorporating an offering procession were shown in the southern chapel. These representations (though modest compared to those in the Chapel of Hatshepsut), correspond with them regarding the selection of gifts presented to the deceased: incense on the southern wall and animals on the northern one (**Figs 3b** and **4b**).

A continuation of the procession carrying fragrances, eye-paints and *wnḥw*-strips on the southern wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut is a procession of men bringing linen.¹⁶ The first two are represented with ideograms  indicating a cloth measure: 100 square cubits (*šn.tj*).¹⁷ An accompanying inscription refers to a type of material carried by these men as *wdb*.¹⁸ Fifteen remaining figures in the register were represented each with -sign,

Nikauisesi, *ACE Reports* 14, Sydney 2000, pp. 51–52, Pls 63–66; N. KANAWATI, The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara II. The Tomb of Ankhmahor, *ACE Reports* 9, Warminster 1997, pp. 47–48, Pls 52–54; T.G.H. JAMES, M.R. APTED, The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, *ASEg* 30, London 1953, Pls XXIII–XXIV; N. KANAWATI, M. ABDER-RAZIQ, Mereruka and his Family I. The Tomb of Merytet, *ACE Reports* 21, Oxford 2004, Pls 69–76. In the absence of such a chamber, in smaller tombs, the motif of incense and accompanying products was usually located in the immediate vicinity of the false-door. This tendency was alive during the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom (B. KOURA, Die ‘7-Heiligen Öle’ und andere Öl- und Fettamen, Aachen 1999 [= Öle], p. 29).

¹² P. JÁNOSI, Die Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen. Untersuchungen zu einem Grabtyp des Alten und Mittleren Reiches, Wien 1996, pp. 158–159; HARPUR, SCREMIN, Kagemni, p. 482.

¹³ Striking position of this motif was underlined already by E. Naville (Deir el-Bahari IV, p. 8). In offering processions of Old Kingdom representations of animals were placed evenly, without favor shown to any of the walls (see for instance: JÉQUIER, Pepi II, II, Pls 61–62, 82).

¹⁴ Except the animals, fragrant substances, eye-paints and linen, products presented by the offering bearers in the Chapel of Hatshepsut are not characterized by inscriptions.


¹⁵ J. VANDIER, Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne V, Paris 1969, pp. 13–58; L. BORCHARDT, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S’āḥu-re^c I, *WVDOG* 14, Leipzig 1910, pp. 122–123; II, Pls 55–56; H. ALTENMÜLLER, Presenting the *ndt-hr* offerings to the tomb owner, [in:] M. Bárta (Ed.), Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology. Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004, Prague 2006, pp. 25–29. In the inscriptions that accompany the scenes in question prevail infinitives *shp.t* (*Wb* IV, 239.7), *jt.t* (*Wb* I, 149.9) or *jn.t* (*Wb* I, 90.8–10); an expression *sjʿr.t* (*Wb* IV, 33.5) used in the Chapel, before the case in question is not attested in this context (see TLA, DZA 28.924.970–DZA 28.958.820, accessed in October 2012).

¹⁶ NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, p. 8.

¹⁷ K. SCHEELE, Die Stofflisten des Alten Reiches. Lexikographie, Entwicklung und Gebrauch, Wiesbaden 2005 [= Stofflisten], p. 68. The ideogram represents a bale of fringed material (P. DER MANUELIAN, Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis, New Haven-Philadelphia 2003, p. 38).

¹⁸ *Wb* I, 408.2: ‘Zeugstoff’; FAULKNER, *CD*, 76: ‘folded cloth’. The word is attested only here and in the Late Period tomb of Ibi (TT 36), where the procession of linen-bearers is an exact copy of that in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (*Wb*, Belegst. I, p. 68; KOURA, Öle, pp. 32, 34, 39).

an ideogram for *mnht*, ‘cloth’.¹⁹ This word was written in front of each figure, while the word *š3w*, ‘many’, was placed behind the last one, depicted with two ideograms instead of one (Pl. 5a). In TT 39 a scene corresponding to that described above is located in the lowest register of the composition represented in the transverse hall, on the southern part of its western wall.²⁰ The first person in the procession is shown with two strips of cloth in his hands what reminds of the offering-bearer with *wnhw(j)* in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Linen carried by the next eight men in the tomb is depicted in the form of packages and strips hanging from their outstretched hands (Fig. 5b). According to N. de G. Davies, the scene in question was taken over from an earlier found in TT 81 (Ineni), where it is shown on the corresponding wall.²¹ It seems that this motif was a popular decoration in the early Eighteenth Dynasty tombs as it is attested in the same place in TT 17 (Nebamon)²² and also in TT 100 (Rekhmire),²³ in the last case in the corridor leading to the cult area, on the eastern part of its southern wall.²⁴ What links the scene in TT 39 and that in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, apart from the presented product, are the titles of the bearers. All of them in TT 39 are described as *hrj mr(w)t*, ‘an overseer of *mr(w)t*-people’. Seven of fifteen men in the Chapel of Hatshepsut are entitled *š3 hrj mr(w)t*, ‘a scribe (of) an overseer of *mr(w)t*-people’, while the figures with this title tend to concentrate in the end of the register.²⁵

¹⁹ *Wb* II, 87: ‘Kleid’, ‘Gewand’. The sign  may be used also as an indicator of material size, 5x10 cubits (SCHEELE, Stofflisten, pp. 57, 70; P. POSNER-KRIÉGER, Les mesures des étoffes à l’Ancien Empire, *RdE* 29, 1977, pp. 86–96; P. POSNER-KRIÉGER *et al.*, The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef. The Papyrus Archive, *Abusir* X, Prague 2006, pp. 235–238).

²⁰ DAVIES, Puyemrê I, Pls XLII A, XLIII, pp. 102–104.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 104, n. 2.

²² T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, *Private Tombs at Thebes* I, Oxford 1957 [= Four Tombs], Pl. XXII, pp. 24–25.

²³ N. DE G. DAVIES, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rê at Thebes, New York 1943, Pls LVI–LVII, pp. 47–48.

²⁴ Wider context of these scenes justifies their position in the southern parts of the tomb. In TT 81 and TT 100 the representations of men carrying linen are included in the scenes which show the tomb-owner as an administrator of the treasury *pr-hd*, identified with a complex erected by Thutmose I to the north of the temple of Amon in Karnak, which served as the treasury of Upper Egypt (H. JACQUET-GORDON, Karnak-Nord V: Le trésor de Thoutmosis I^{er}. Étude architecturale, *FIFAO* 30, Le Caire 1983, pp. 4–5; S. EICHLER, Die Verwaltung des “Häuses des Amun” in der 18. Dynastie, *BSA* 7, Hamburg 1974 [= Verwaltung], p. 119; A.H. AWAD, Untersuchungen zum Schatzhaus im Neuen Reich: administrative und ökonomische Aspekte, PhD dissertation, Göttingen 2002, pp. 15–19). In TT 17 the scene with linen-bearers forms a part of the composition described as ‘the wholesome sight of the good things in the southland’ (SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, Four Tombs I, pp. 24–25). In TT 39 the procession of men bringing linen completes the scene representing a tribute of the South (DAVIES, Puyemrê I, pp. 102–104). On the location of compositions illustrating activities typical for the North and the South in Theban tombs see ENGELMANN VON CARNAP, Struktur, pp. 396–398.

²⁵ The expression *mr(w)t*, attested in sources from the Old Kingdom on, denoted men cultivating a temple’s land, and working in a *šn* manufacture which produced bread, beer and linen for a temple’s use (*Wb* II, 106.11–20: ‘Hörige’, ‘Untertanen’; E. BROVARSKI, s.v. Tempelpersonal I, *LÄ* VI, 392; D. JONES, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of Old Kingdom I–II, *BAR IS* 866, Oxford 2000 [= Index], p. 853 (3117); by N. de G. Davies the word was determined as ‘weavers’ (DAVIES, Puyemrê I, p. 104). During the Eighteenth Dynasty this expression related to unqualified workers (often slaves brought from military campaigns) handed to the Amon temple at Karnak (EICHLER, Verwaltung, pp. 97–102). The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari possessed its own manufacture *šn* which had been founded by Senmut (W. HELCK, Die Opferstiftung des *Šn-mut*, *ZÄS* 85, 1960, p. 32) and supervised by Senenu, the first priest of Amon in this temple. One of his titles

Two scenes shown in the opposite northern part of the TT 39 vestibule are of particular interest for our research. They include the scene representing an inspection of cattle, which can be seen among other activities of the Delta, and the scene depicting wild animals led by hunters, an element of a desert hunt scene (**Fig. 6**).²⁶ The described above representations of animals led in the offering procession of the Hatshepsut Chapel (**Fig. 4a**) seem to be related to the scenes of this kind: an inscription that accompanies the figure with the antelope in the Chapel is *sjꜣr.t [m3]-ḥd jn jmj-r3 nw(w)*, ‘bringing an antelope by a supervisor of hunters’, while the offering-bearer leading the calf is entitled *wr 30 Mḥw*, ‘the greatest (of) the Thirty of Lower Egypt’. It is interesting to note that in the sources from the Old Kingdom to the times of Hatshepsut reference to this title has not been attested. The closest term is *wr 30 Šmꜣ*, ‘the greatest (of) the Thirty of Upper Egypt’ known from the documents from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period,²⁷ and *wr Šmꜣ Mḥw*, ‘the greatest (of) Upper and Lower Egypt’ attested in the so-called ‘Ramesseum Dramatic Text’ dated to the late Middle Kingdom, found also among honorific titles of Senmut.²⁸ The fact, that in the Chapel of Hatshepsut the only expression used in the title was *Mḥw*, is significant since the person it nominates leads the calf – an animal which, along with fowl and fish, constituted a typical ‘product’ of Lower Egypt.²⁹

It is worth mentioning that in the early Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs, such as TT 81 (Ineni) or TT 83 (Ahmose), similarly to the Middle Kingdom *saff*-tombs of this area, scenes depicting a desert hunt, a typical Upper Egypt activity, are placed in the southern parts of their columned porticoes.³⁰ In the tombs dated from the Hatshepsut reign on, in turn, in TT 39 among others, those scenes were moved to the northern part of the vestibule, where they joined the scenes of hunt in the Delta marshes.³¹ Similarly in the Chapel of Hatshepsut the representations of the men bringing wild animals (of Upper Egypt) and

was *hrj mr(w)t n Jmn m Dsr-dsrw*, an overseer of people *mr(w)t of Amon in Dsr-dsrw* (E. BROVARSKI, Senenu, high priest of Amun, *JEA* 62, 1976, p. 59 and n. (m) on p. 63; EICHLER, Verwaltung, p. 110).

²⁶ Other, better preserved examples of such a procession shown in the lowest register of desert hunt scenes are attested in TT 21 (User), TT 20 (Montuherkhepeshef), TT 123 (Amenemhat), and TT 84 (Jamunedjeh), N. DE G. DAVIES, *Five Theban Tombs* (Being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemaway and Tati), *ASEg* 21, London 1913, Pls XII, XXII; PM I, 237 [10] and 169 [15].

²⁷ W. HELCK, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, *PdÄ* 3, Leiden-Köln 1958 [= *Zur Verwaltung*], p. 53.

²⁸ Both titles seem to originate from the regular Old and Middle Kingdom epithet *wr 10 Šmꜣ*, ‘the greatest (of) the Ten of Upper Egypt’ (S. QUIRKE, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, *The Hieratic Documents*, New Maiden 1990 [= *Administration*], p. 194; HELCK, *Zur Verwaltung*, pp. 51–53). On this title see also JONES, *Index*, p. 388 (1437); QUIRKE, *Administration*, pp. 78–81. According to W. Helck, ‘the Ten’, and later ‘the Thirty’, was a group of vizier’s counselors, who were engaged, among others, in accounting and distribution of farm produce (HELCK, *Zur Verwaltung*, p. 52).

²⁹ K. W. BUTZER, s.v. Delta, *LÄ* I, 1049; L. STÖRK, s.v. Rind, *LÄ* V, 259.

³⁰ ENGELMANN VON CARNAP, *Struktur*, p. 240; E. DZIOBEK, *Das Grab des Ineni, Theben Nr. 81*, *AV* 68, Mainz a/Rhein 1981, Pl. 16, p. 62; N. DE G. DAVIES, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs* (nos. 38, 66, 162, with excerpts from 81), *PTT* 4, Oxford 1963, Pl. XXI.

³¹ According to B. Engelmann von Carnap, a common subject – the hunt – has played a vital part for the combination of these two representations, traditionally connected with different parts of Egypt (ENGELMANN VON CARNAP, *Struktur*, p. 240).

the man with the calf (from Lower Egypt), were both placed on the northern wall in its eastern part, which can be interpreted as an 'outer' part of this room, corresponding to the northern part of the tomb vestibule.

In the end of the offering procession in the Chapel of Hatshepsut two figures with the recitation gesture were shown, Iunmutef on the southern wall and Thot on the northern one (**Fig. 7a**).³² In TT 39 an equivalent of these representations was depicted in the middle chapel, in a form of a *sem*-priest on the southern wall, and a lector-priest on the northern wall, both shown with the same gesture in front of the tomb owner sitting at the offering table (**Fig. 7b**).³³ The following text was placed above the figure of lector-priest shown in TT 39:

(1) *hṭp dj nswt psdt ʿ3t* (2) *Wsjr psdt wrt jtrt* (3) *šmʿt mḥt dj.sn ḥ3 m t ḥnkt ḥ3 m k3 3pdw ḥ3 m* (4) *[3šrwt] stpwt ḥ3 r3 ḥ3 trp* (5) *st sr mnwt ʿnḥt ntr jm* (6) *hṭp-ntr sp snw n Wsjr Pw-jm-Rʿ m3ʿ-ḥrw*

(1) *A boon which the king gives, and the Great Ennead, (2) Osiris, the Small Ennead and the Chapels (3) of Lower and Upper Egypt. They give thousands of bread and beer, thousands of cattle and fowl, thousands of (4) chosen roasted cuts, thousands of r3 and trp geese, (5) st geese, sr ducks, and pigeons, on which a god lives, (6) a divine offering, double pure for Puyemre, true of voice.*³⁴

An inscription above the figure of Thot in the Chapel of Hatshepsut is in its original version preserved only as fragments of hieroglyphic signs (**Fig. 7a**). Its transcription should be given as follows:

1. *d[d mdw jn Dḥwtj] ...[Wsjr]*
2. ...
3. ...
4. *[dj.sn]...*
5. *[ḥ3 m]...*
6. *[w]ʿb [sp] snw n s3t Rʿ [Hnmt-Jmn ḥ3t špswt]...*

In the first column, in a place of a lacuna (two groups of signs missing) one should expect one of Thot's epithets, *nb Ḥmnw*, 'the Lord of the Ogdoad' or *nb mdw ntr* 'the

³² The scenes had been destroyed in the Amarna Period, than reconstructed during the Ramesside times. In the E. Naville's publication of the Chapel reliefs, the scene depicting Iunmutef has been presented as its Rameside restoration (Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CIX, p. 7) – which is better visible also at present – while almost completely destroyed scene with Thot has been omitted. The figure of this god has been identified in its place by J. Karkowski (see J. KARKOWSKI, *The temple of Hatshepsut. The Solar Complex, Deir el-Bahari VI*, Warsaw 2003, p. 60 and n. 25). U. Rummel in her study misinterprets the figures on both walls as Iunmutef (see U. RUMMEL, *Pfeiler seiner Mutter – Beistand seine Vaters. Untersuchungen zum Gott Iunmutef vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, Hamburg 2003 [= Iunmutef], vol. I p. 124; vol. II Kat.-nr. 9).

³³ On identification of Iunmutef with the *sem*-priest and Thot with the lector-priest and their function in the royal mortuary cult, see B. SCHMITZ, *s.v.* *Sem* (priester), *LÄ V*, 833; J. ASSMANN, *s.v.* Totenkult, Totenglauben, *LÄ VI*, 664–665; H. TE VELDE, *s.v.* Iunmutef, *LÄ III*, 212–213; RUMMEL, Iunmutef, pp. 123–124, 243–250; H. SPEISS, *Untersuchungen zum Gott Thot bis zum Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, Hamburg 1991 [= Untersuchungen], pp. 149–150, 164–165, Anl. 2. It should be stressed that the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari is the first place where the pair of gods is attested in the offering scene context (RUMMEL, Iunmutef, p. 123).

³⁴ For the translation of N. de G. Davies, different from the one given here, see DAVIES, Puyemrê II, p. 20.

Lord of divine speech' and the *hṭp dj nswt* phrase, so that the beginning of the inscription may be translated as *The words to be said by Thot, the Lord of the Ogdoad (or the Lord of divine speech): a boon which the king gives, and Osiris*. The following part of the text may be reconstructed on the basis of the inscription in TT 39 given above. In the second and third columns a listing of gods should be placed to continue the sentence from the previous column: *psḏt ʕt jrtj šmʕt mḥt psḏt wrt ntrw nbw, the Great Ennead, the Chapels of Lower and Upper Egypt, the Small Ennead, and all gods*.³⁵ In the fourth and fifth columns, after *dj.sn, they give*, in all likelihood there was a list of products: *ḥ3 m t ḥnkt ḥ3 m k3 3pdw, thousands of bread and beer, thousands of cattle and fowl, etc.* finished with the phrase *ʕḥt ntr jm hṭp ntr, on which a god lives, a divine offering...*, the continuation of which is preserved in the last column: *[w]ʕb [sp] snw n s3t Rʕ [Hnmt-Jmn ḥ3t špswt]...*, *double pure for the daughter of Re, Hatshepsut beloved by Amon*....³⁶

The last representation, which finds the analogy in the Chapel of Hatshepsut is the butchery scene, placed on the eastern wall of the TT 39 middle chapel (**Fig. 8a-b**). Despite the fact that both scenes were placed on eastern walls, which reflects the tradition of decoration in the Old Kingdom offering rooms,³⁷ a recipient of the ritual act in each case is different: while in the Chapel of Hatshepsut it is the queen, in TT 39 the sacrifice is made for Amon, Hathor and Atum,³⁸ which corresponds with the scenes representing offerings to gods made by Puyemre and on his behalf, shown on the side walls of the same room, next to the described above scenes with *sem* and lector-priest.³⁹

In any of the Theban tombs, including those of Senmut (TT 71 and TT 353), an accumulation of motifs taken from the Chapel of Hatshepsut is bigger than in TT 39. Though none of them presents the exact copy of the scenes in the Chapel, their correspondence – regarding the walls orientation as well as the placement (inner/outer) within the Chapel and the tomb – is significant. Moreover, motifs in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, which may be seen as an inspiration for the TT 39 decoration (excluding the scene of butchery), such as

³⁵ Offering formulae of this type are attested on a number of Middle Kingdom coffins as well as in tombs of that date, see S. SCHOTT, *Die Opferliste als Schrift des Thoth*, *ZÄS* 90, 1963, pp. 103–109; CT VII, 104 (spell 894); R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts III*, Warminster 1973, pp. 54–55; H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life*, Leiden 1988, pp. 197–198; F.L.L. GRIFFITH, P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh II*, *ASEg*, London n.d., Pl. XVII, pp. 35, 40, 46; H. WILLEMS, *Dayr al-Barshā I: The Rock Tombs of Djehutinakht* (No. 17K74/1), *Khnumnakht* (No. 17K74/2), and *Iha* (No. 17K74/3), *OLA* 155, Leuven-Paris-Dudley 2007, p. 36 (2), Pl. XLVI (17K74/1 = No. 10); p. 73 (1), Pl. LII (17K74/3 = No. 8.); A.M. BLACKMAN, *The Rock Tombs of Meir II. The Tomb-chapel of Senbi's Son Ukh-hotp* (B, No. 2), *ASEg* 23, London 1915, Pl. VI, p. 16; SPEISS, *Untersuchungen*, p. 82 (Doc. 37). In a vertical inscription in front of the Thot figure represented in the Chapel of Hatshepsut traces of hieroglyphs indicate words 'Ennead' and 'the Chapels of Upper and Lower Egypt' (**Fig. 7a**).

³⁶ It is difficult to interpret explicitly the text written above the figure of Inmutef in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, though more fragments of its hieroglyphs has been preserved compared to the text above the image of Thot (the research on this subject is in progress). At this stage it seems quite sure, however, that the text of glorification nature, placed above the *sem*-priest figure in TT 39 (DAVIES, *Puyemrê II*, pp. 20–21) differs from it significantly.

³⁷ JÉQUIER, *Pepi II, II*, Pl. 97. Correspondence between the scene in TT 39, the one in the Chapel of Hatshepsut and their Old Kingdom prototypes has been noticed by N. de G. DAVIES (*DAVIES, Puyemrê II*, p. 16, n. 2).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 17–19, Pls LIII–LIV.

the non-standard offering list, the motifs of incense, linen, and animals incorporated into the offering procession, and finally, the figures of Iunmutef and Thot, in the Chapel itself are outstanding when compared to the typical Old and Middle Kingdom offering scenes, which constituted the prototype of its decoration.

It is highly dubious that aiming to prepare the interior of his tomb, Puyemre could order copying of some depictions in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, one of the most sacred places of the Deir el-Bahari temple, after it was finished, though as the second priest of Amon he was undoubtedly admitted there. It seems more probable that he dealt with the scenes in the Chapel in the course of their creation. Could he be involved in their design? The only direct evidence of Puyemre's engagement in building activities commissioned by Hatshepsut is a kneeling statue of him dedicated to the temple of Mut in Karnak. An inscription on the statue lists services provided by Puyemre for the temple, such as the erection of an ebony sanctuary inlaid with electrum, and a double gate of the finest white limestone.⁴⁰ The involvement of Puyemre in the construction work at Deir el-Bahari, in turn, is suggested by his signatures on the masonry of the Lower Temple.⁴¹ H. Carter believed that these inscriptions name Puyemre as an architect of the temple.⁴² According to N. de G. Davies, their presence in such a place indicated that Puyemre 'was superintending the work there'⁴³ and 'was responsible to Queen Hatshepsut for the construction of the outwork of her temple'.⁴⁴ The hypothesis was reiterated by B. Engelmann von Carnap, who defined Puyemre as 'Baumeister des Hatschepsuttempels von Deir el-Bahari'.⁴⁵ It should be stressed, however, that though the definitions given by these scholars are justified to a certain extent, the inscriptions themselves indicate only an inspection of some stage of work in the temple, the exact kind of which remains unknown.

The name of Puyemre has been found also on a number of *name stones* coming from the area of the Lower Temple at Deir el-Bahari.⁴⁶ According to the most common interpretation, hieratic inscriptions naming officials on these stones were made for those of the

⁴⁰ DAVIES, Puyemrê I, p. 21, Pl. LXV (B); *Urk.* IV, 520–521.

⁴¹ These were three hieratic texts written in ink upon the under surfaces of the stone blocks from the walls, naming his title and his name (*hm-ntr snw n Jmn Pw-jm-R*), the earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes. A Record of Work Done 1907–1911*, London-New York-Toronto-Melbourne 1912, p. 39, Fig. 10.

⁴² *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

⁴³ DAVIES, Puyemrê I, p. 20.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. XVII.

⁴⁵ ENGELMANN VON CARNAP, *Struktur*, p. 35, refers to DAVIES, Puyemrê I, p. 20, quoted above.

⁴⁶ W.C. HAYES, *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-mût (no. 71) at Thebes*, New York 1942, p. 46; ID., *The Scepter of Egypt II*, New York 1990, p. 88; MMA 12.181.305 (<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100035119?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=12.181.305&pos=1>, accessed August 2012).

On 'name stones', brick-like blocks of stone with the incised cartouche of Hatshepsut, which were placed in sand beneath the foundations of the temples erected by the queen in Thebes, see J. IWASZCZUK, *Surprising Name-Stones from the Metropolitan House Storeroom, Luxor*, [in:] J. Popielska-Grzybowska, J. Iwaszczuk (Eds), *Proceedings of the Fifth Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists. Egypt 2009: Perspectives of Research. Pultusk 22–24 June 2009, Acta Archeologica Pultuskiensia II*, Pultusk 2009 [= 'Name-Stones'], pp. 56–59.

courtiers, who contributed to the construction of the temple as a whole,⁴⁷ though again, the precise kind of their contribution is difficult to ascertain.⁴⁸

In the light of this evidence it seems not completely groundless to assume that Puyemre could be responsible for the design (and possibly execution) of the Hatshepsut Chapel decoration. The character of the scenes in TT 39 described above in relation to their prototype in the Chapel indicate a creative approach, which was possible only provided that Puyemre had had access to certain sources that were then used by him (or applied by his order) for the decoration of his own tomb.

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⁴⁷ IWASZCZUK, 'Name-Stones', p. 59, and p. 61, nn. 58–61. According to J. Iwaszczuk, all *name stones* from Deir el-Bahari belong to the Valley Temple, what is justified by differences in the construction of the foundations of the Valley Temple and the temple proper: only in the former the sand, which was necessary to put a *name stone* in, was used to fill the foundation trenches (*ibid.*, p. 56).

⁴⁸ I am grateful to Jadwiga Iwaszczuk for drawing my attention to the 'name stones' of Puyemre and his inscriptions on the masonry of the Lower Temple at Deir el-Bahari.

I		II		III	
A/1		A/26		A/76	
A/2		A/27		A/77	
B/1		A/28		A/78	
B/2		A/29		A/79	
B/3		A/30		A/80	
B/4		A/31		A/81	
B/5		A/32		A/82	
B/6		A/33		A/83	
B/7		A/34		A/84	
B/8		A/35		A/85	
B/9		A/36		A/86	
B/10		A/37		A/87	
		A/38		A/88	
		A/39		A/89	
		A/40		A/90	
		A/41			
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		A/64			
		A/65			
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A/4		A/67			
A/5		A/68			
A/6		A/69			
A/7		A/70			
A/8		A/71			
A/9		A/72			
A/10		A/73			
A/11		A/74			
A/12		A/75			

spell CT 607

spells PT 204-205, 207, 209-212

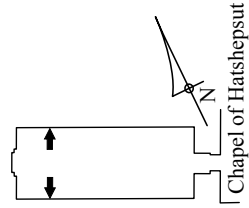
1. Composition scheme of the offering lists in the Chapel of Hatshepsut and TT 39.

Plans and images are not to scale

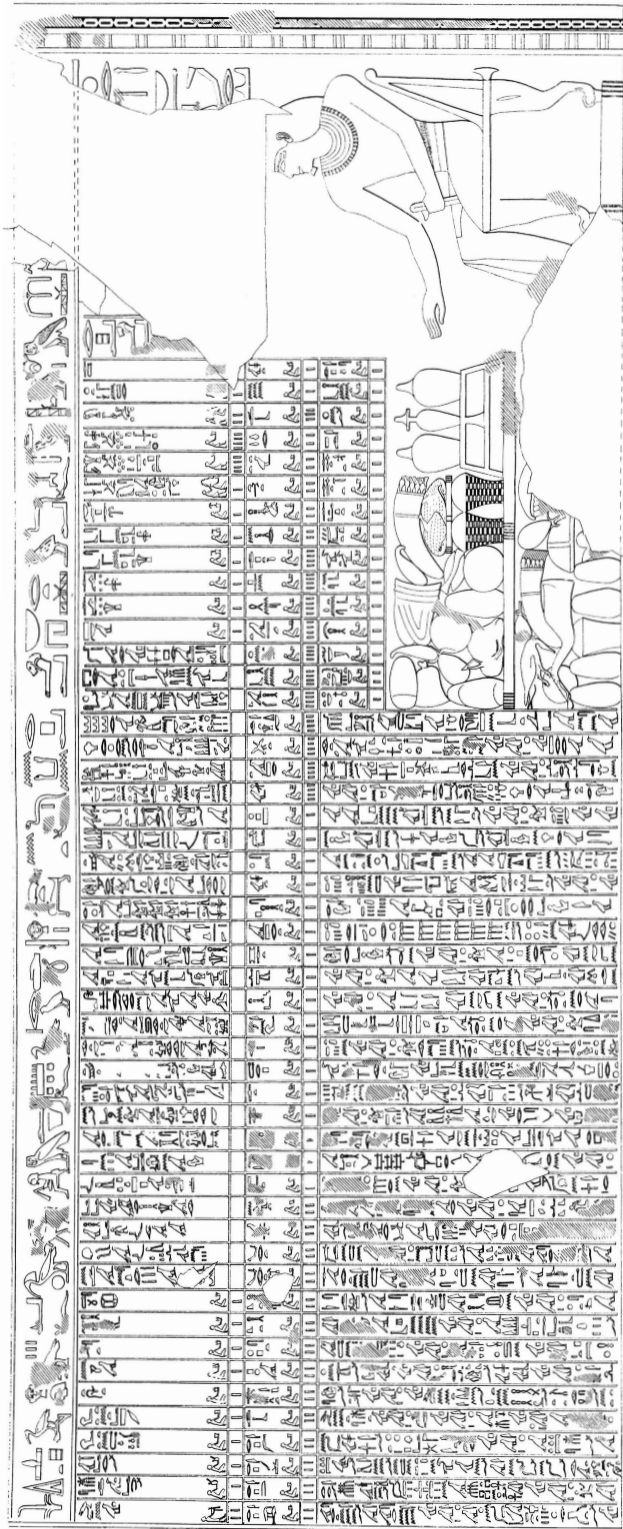
a



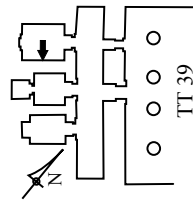
NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls CIX-CX, fragm.



b



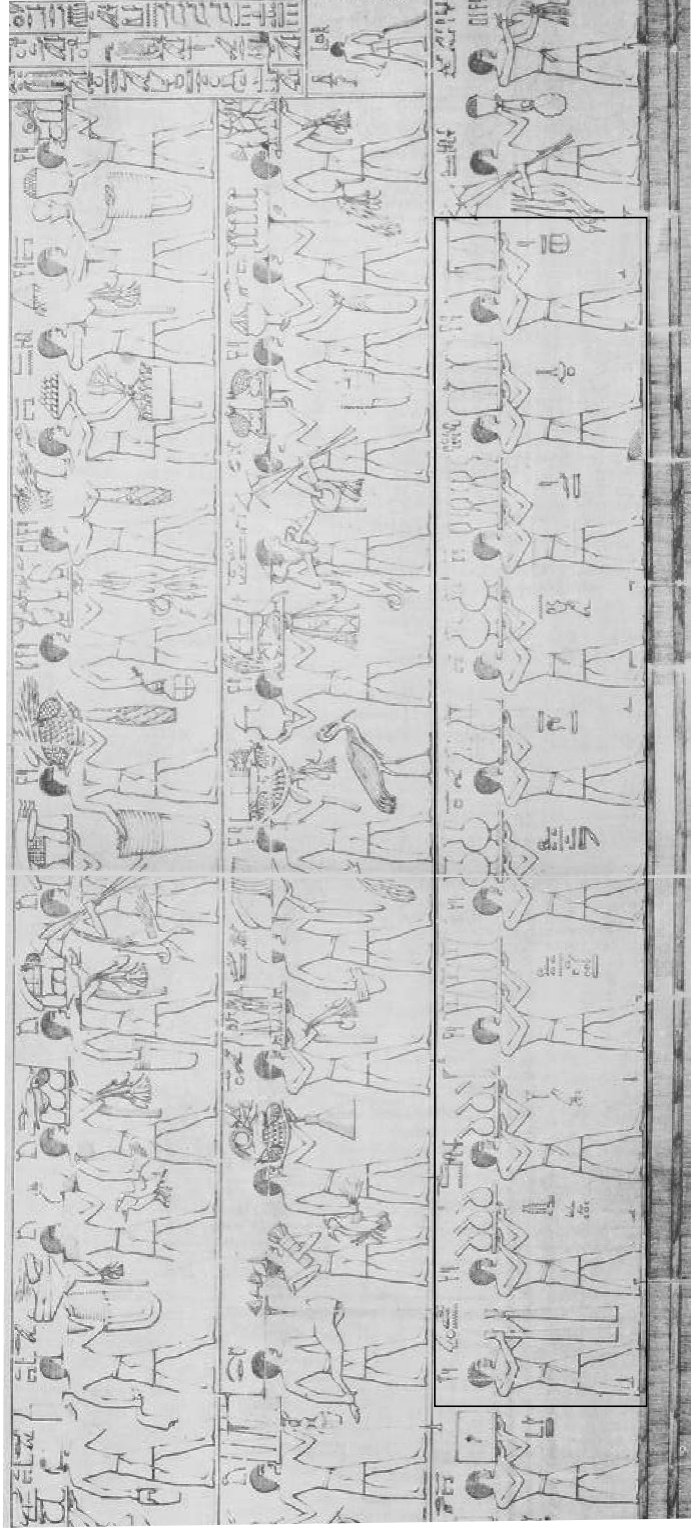
DAVIES, Puyemré II, Pls XLIX-L.



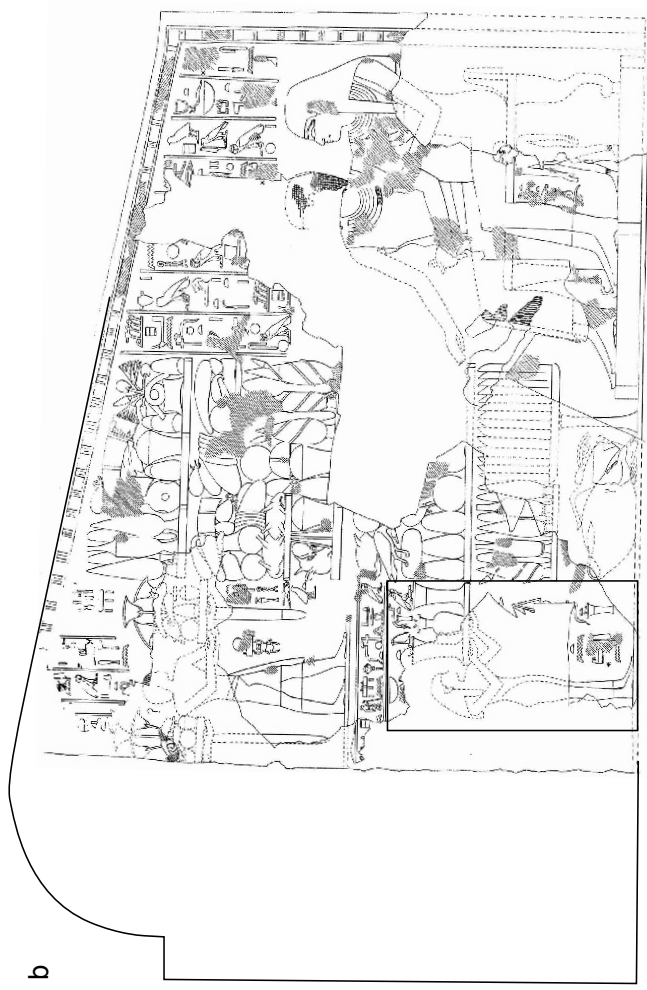
2. Offering list in the Chapel of Hatshepsut and TT 39.

a

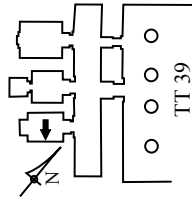
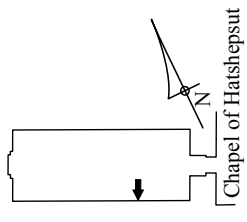
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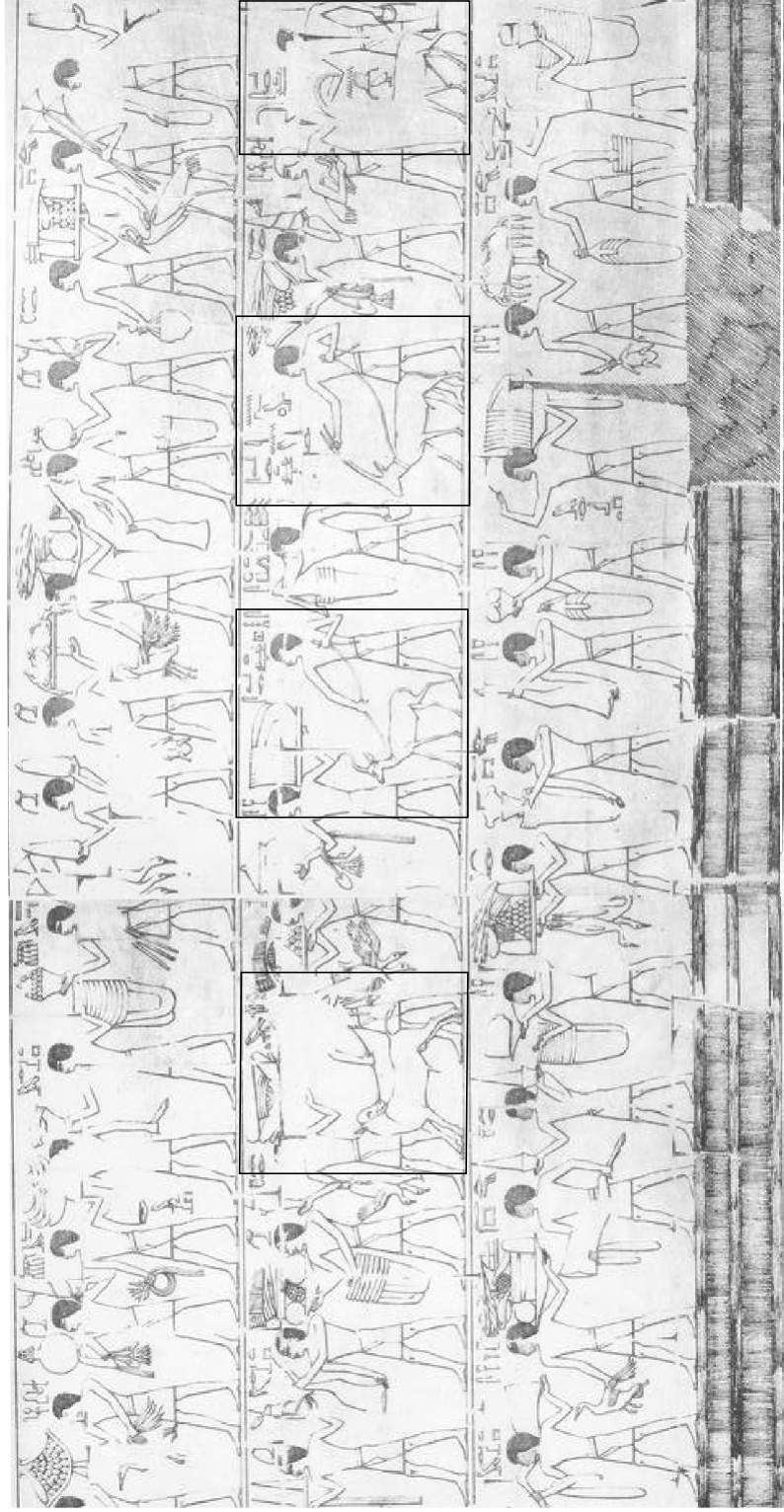
NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CIX, fragm.



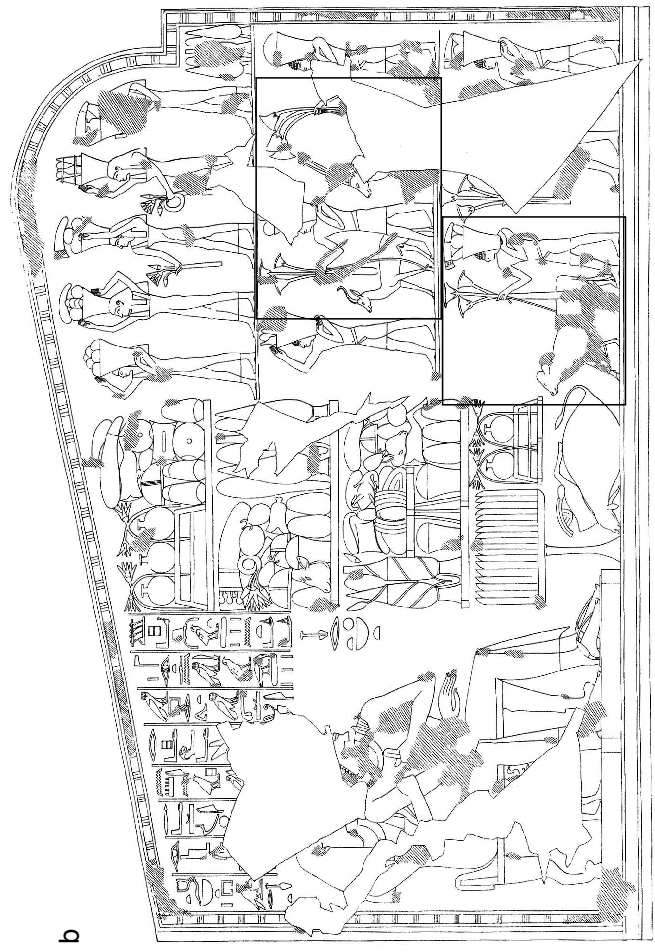
DAVIES, Puyemrê II, Pl. LXIII.



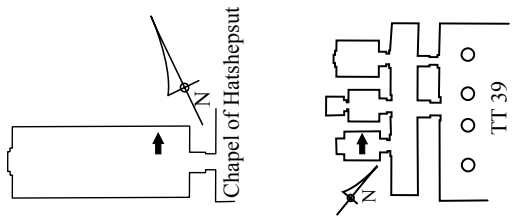
3. Presentation of ointments as an element of the offering procession in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (a) and TT 39 (b).



NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CXI, fragm.



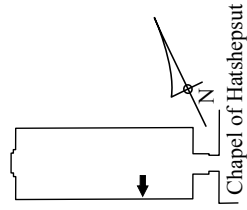
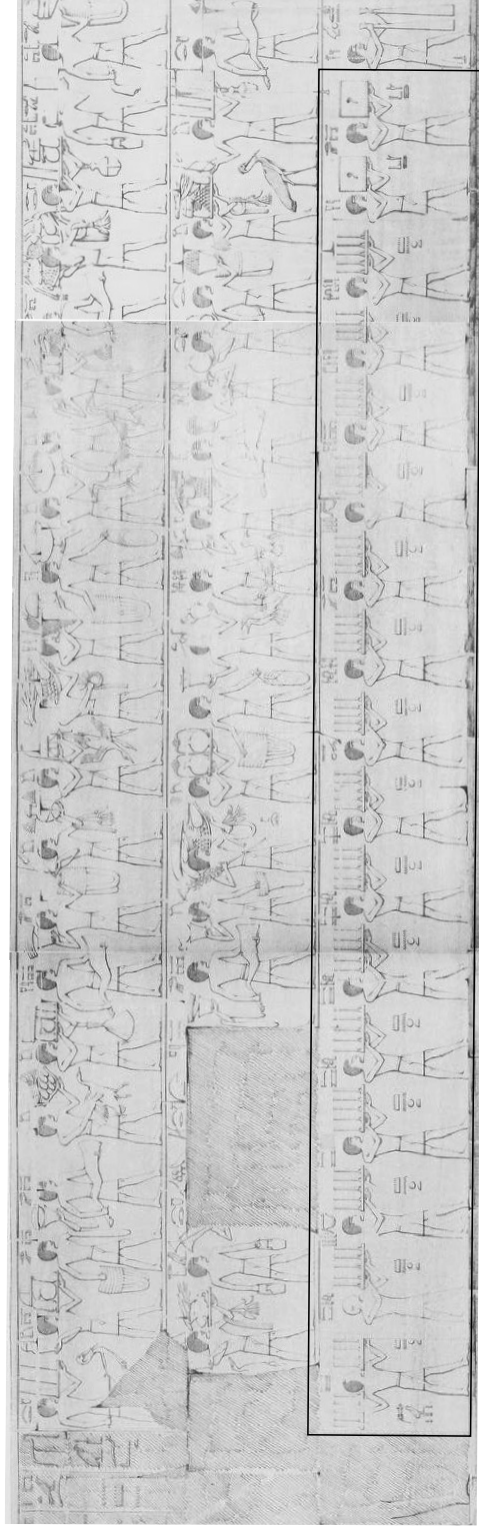
DAVIES, Puyemrê II, Pl. LXIV.



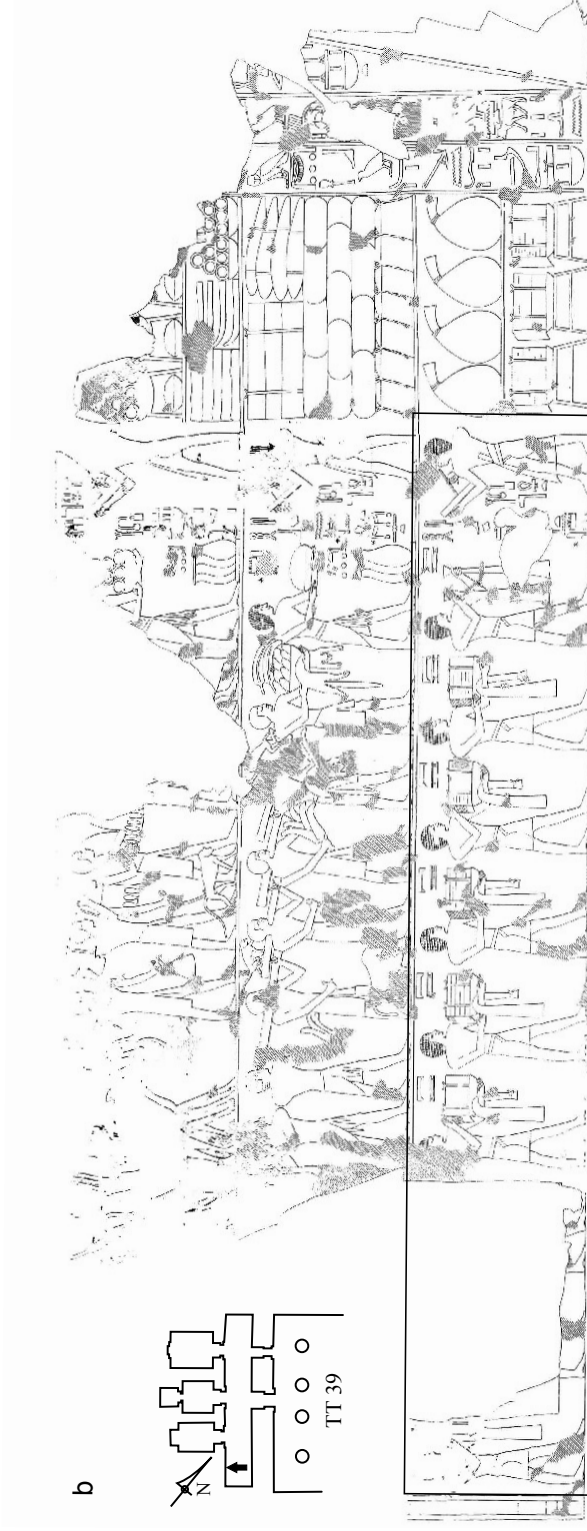
4. Presentation of animals as an element of the offering procession in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (a) and TT 39 (b).

Plans and images are not to scale

a



NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls CVIII, CXI, fragm.

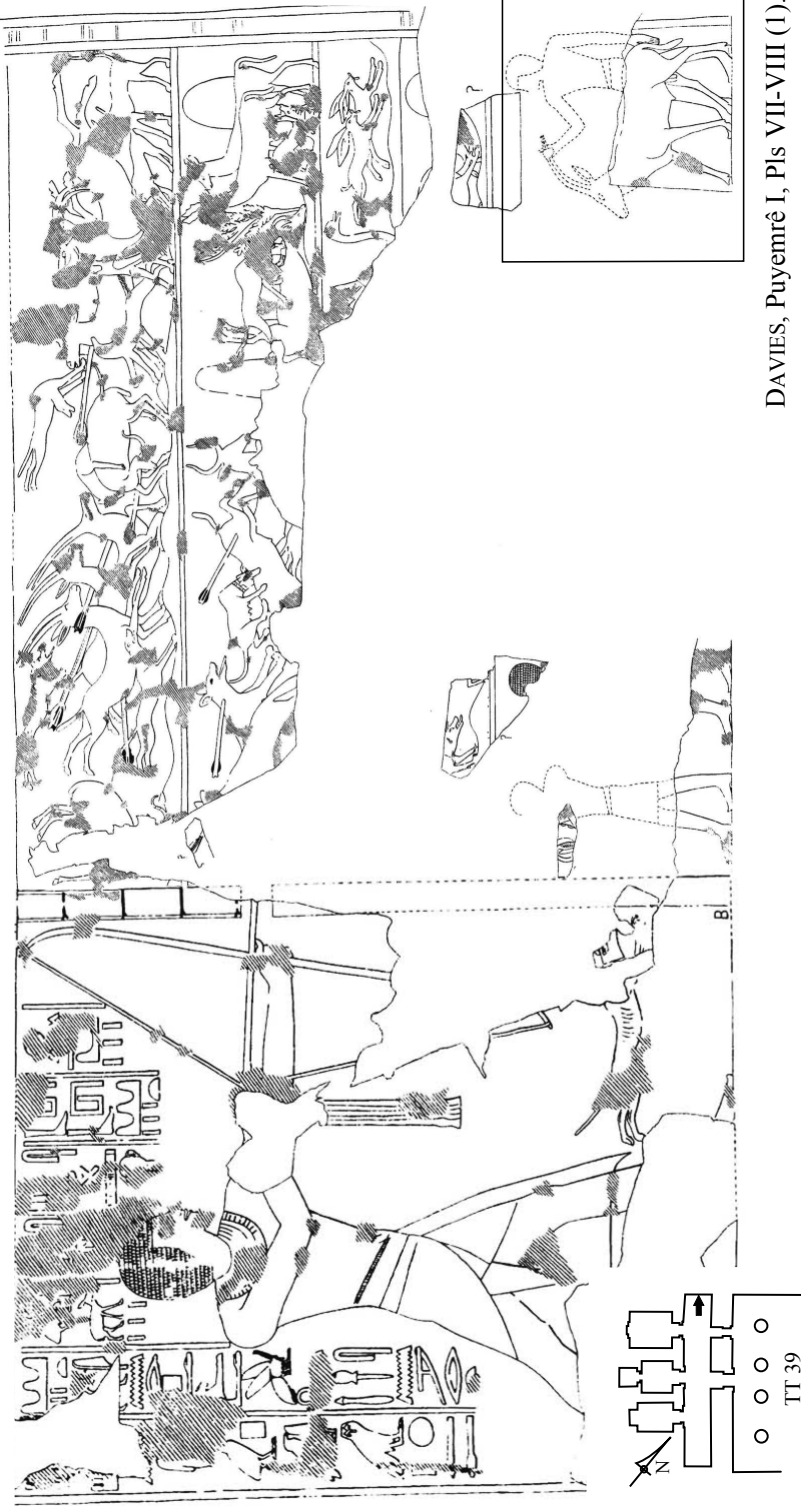


DAVIES, Puyemrê II, Pls LXII (1), XLII (3), XLIII.

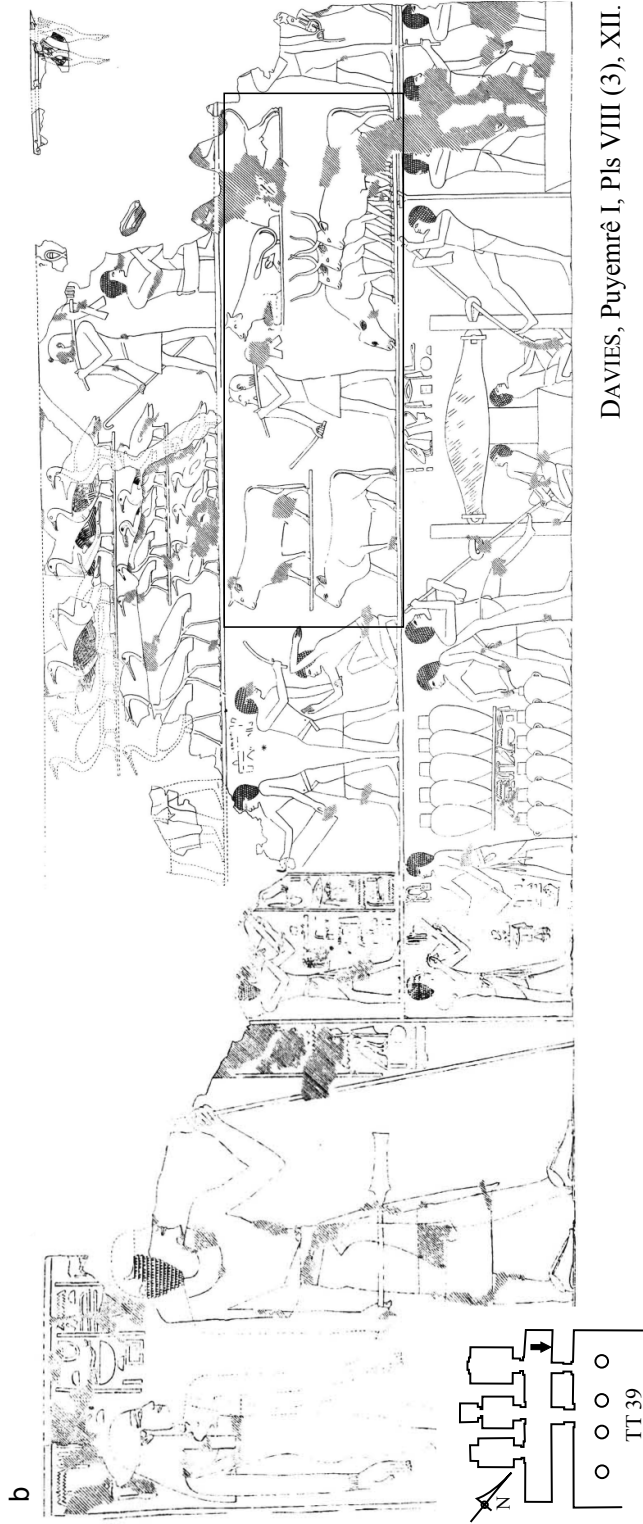
5. Presentation of linen in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (a) and TT 39 (b).

a

Plans and images are not to scale



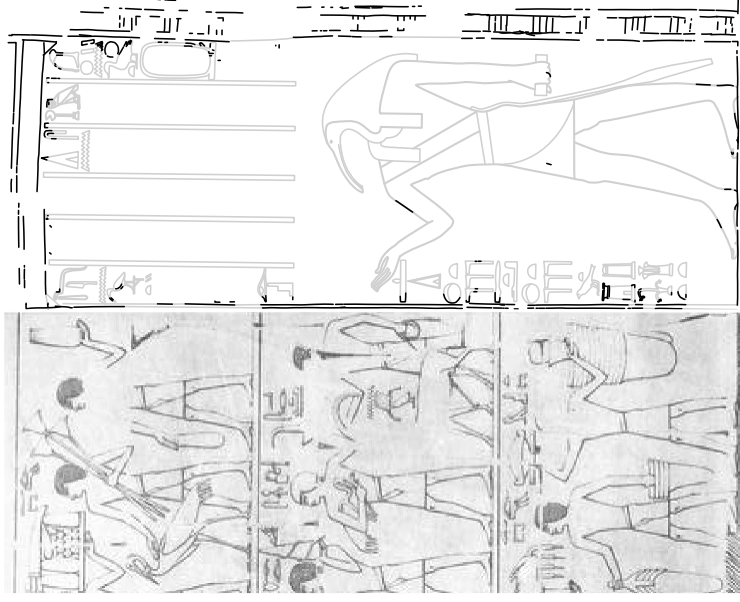
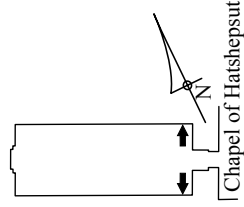
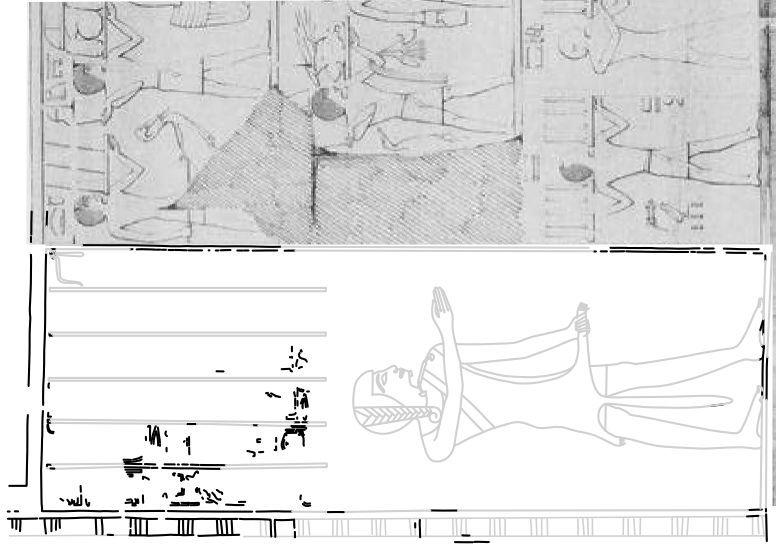
DAVIES, Puyemrê I, Pls VII-VIII (1).



DAVIES, Puyemrê I, Pls VIII (3), XII.

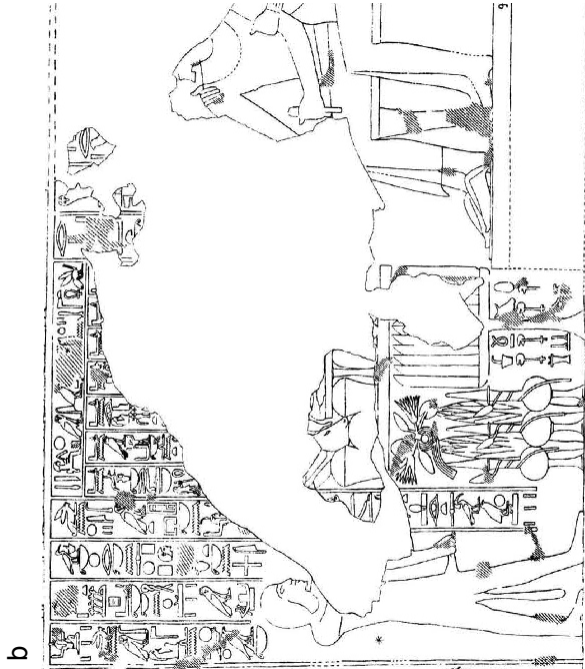
6. Presentation of wild animals (a) and cattle of Delta (b) in TT 39.

a

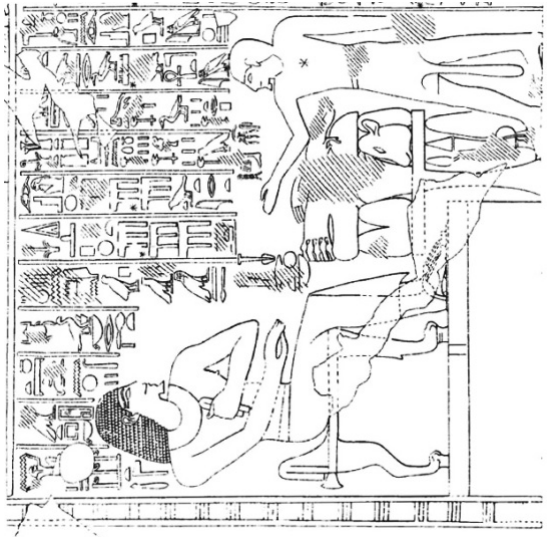


Plans and images are not to scale

Offering processions: NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls CIX, CXI (fragm.);
scenes representing Junmutef and Thot (reconstruction): A. Stupko-Lubczyńska.



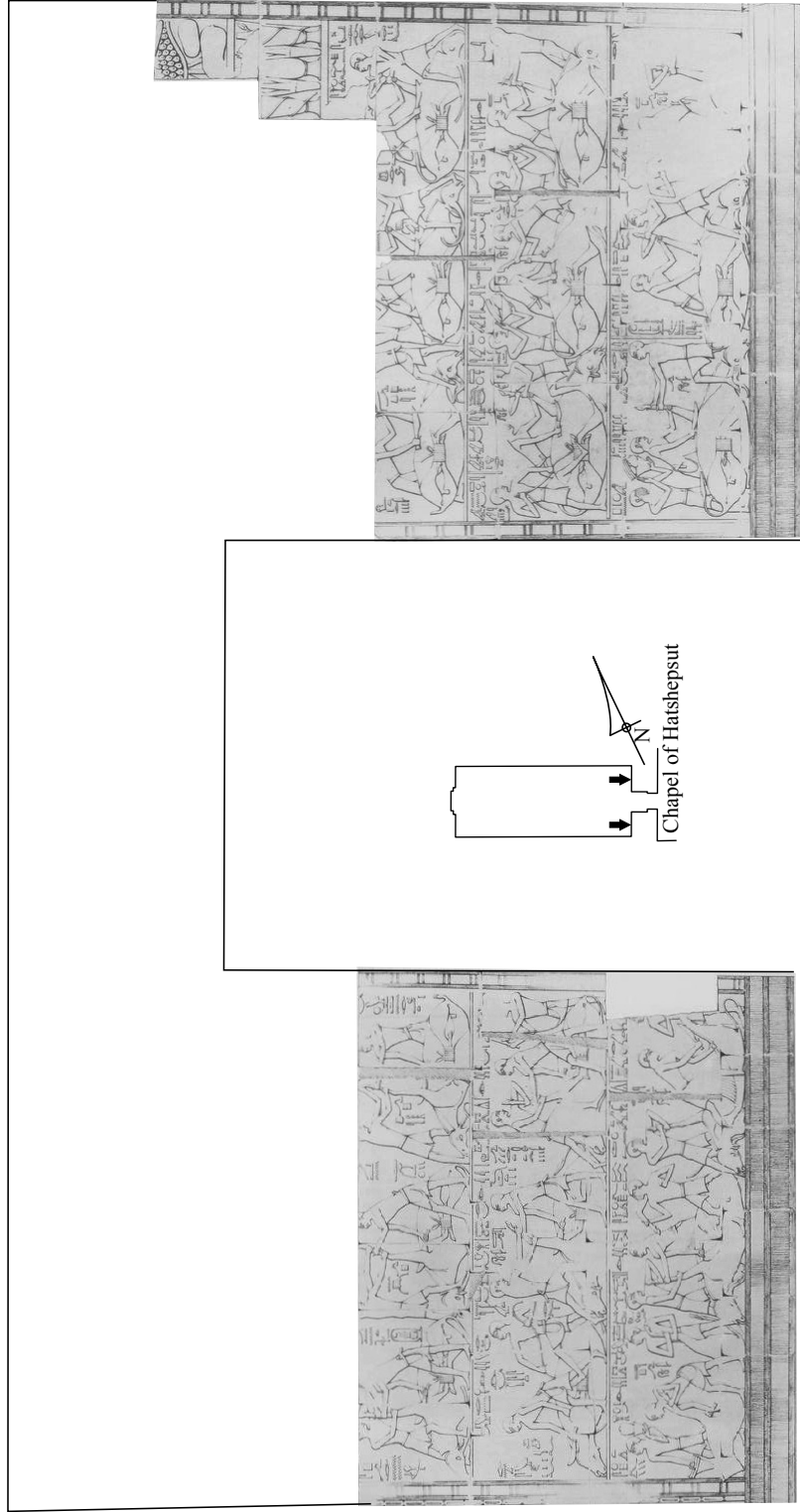
7. Imnuteuf and Thot in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (a), *sem*-priest and lector-priest in TT 39 (b).



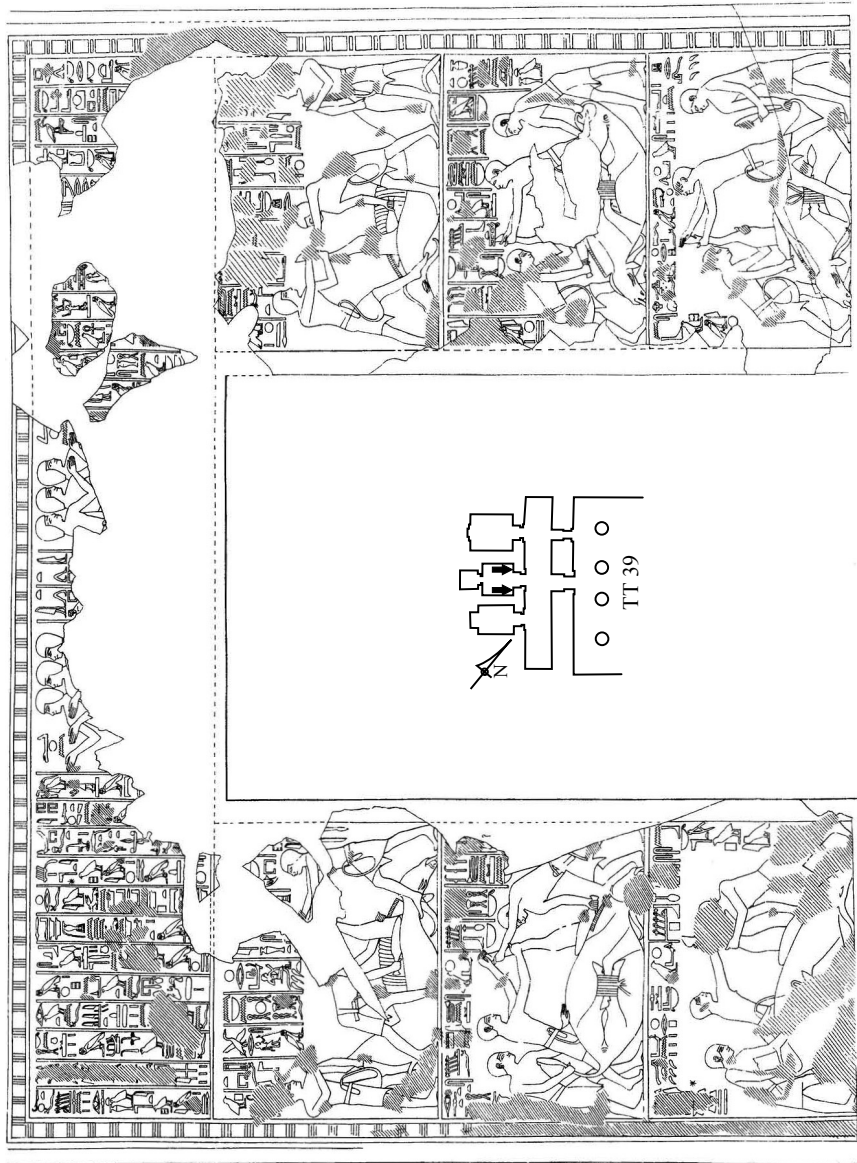
DAVIES, Puyemrê II, Pls LIII–LIV, fragm.

a

Plans and images are not to scale



NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CVII.



b

DAVIES, Puyemrê II, Pl. LII.

8. Butchery scenes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (a) and TT 39 (b).